2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Citalá, Guaquitepec, Chilón, Yajalón, and Petalcingo relations between Indians and Ladinos are more friendly, and the Indians are regarded as milder and more tractable.

Of the strongly Indian towns, Cancuc is the most conservative, Chanal the most progressive

In respect to official political organization, these villages are divided according to their importance and the number of their inhabitants, into free municipalities (*municipios libres*) and dependent municipalities (*agencias municipales*). The former are those which have the right to choose their own government, upon which formal administration depends. To this category belong Amatenango, Chanal, Tenejapa, Oxchuc, Ococingo, Chilón, and Bachajón. Until a short time ago the municipal governments of these settlements were composed of Ladinos in the principal posts and of Indians in the subordinate positions. At the present time the government is seeking to reverse this situation so that the Indians have the greater authority; it is for this reason that the governments of the four villages first mentioned are now headed by Indians. This change has brought about marked alterations in certain places in the social equilibrium that before existed between the two ethnic elements which compose the population.

Villages of the latter category are those which depend, in administrative matters, on a free municipality. In these cases authority is represented in the first place by the *agente municipal*, who is named by the central municipal government. This post is always discharged by a Ladino. In most instances the municipal agent compensates for the meagerness of his salary by controlling the sale of rum in the village which he administers. The other members of the municipal government are chosen almost always from the Indian group.

In several of the highland communities, notably Amatenango, Chanal, and, to a much less extent, Tenejapa, the Indian grows (in addition to the universal maize) a certain amount of wheat for export; the Ladinos of Oxchuc cultivate this crop, but in Cancuc, where there are no Ladinos, wheat is not grown. (Wheat is also grown in the Tzotzil towns of Chamula and Húistan.) Other money crops of the highlands are chickpeas, peas, oranges, and other fruit. Some coffee is grown in San Martín; it is the principal export from Yajalón and Petalcingo. In Bachajón, Citalá, Guaquitepec, and Chilón a principal produce is brown sugar, made locally from sugar cane locally raised. Cancuc is the only village that cultivates cotton commercially; the production in the other communities is insignificant. The local manufacture of loom-woven clothing is rapidly disappearing. Most Tzeltal communities are without beehives, but there is considerable apiculture in Sivacá, and a little beekeeping is also practised in Tenango, Bachajón, and Yajalón. Apparently the bees kept are wild colonies brought to the villages in the sections of hollow log they are made to inhabit. The raising of hogs and poultry is a principal economic recourse in all the Indian settlements. The beef cattle industry has always been in the hands of Ladinos; however, recently the Government, acting through the Centers of Native Education, has sought to stimulate the industry among the Indians.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The Indians manufacture and consume *chicha*, an alcoholic beverage fermented from sugar cane or maize. They drink larger quantities of rum prepared in Ladino-owned distilleries. *Pilico*, a combination of lime and tobacco, is chewed frequently, especially in Oxchuc, Tenejapa, and Cancuc.

Tenejapa is the only Tzeltal town that enjoys importance as a market center. Here a market is held every Sunday.

Pottery is made for sale outside the local community in Amatenango and in Tenango. In almost all the other communities the industry is practised in a rudimentary form merely to supply local needs. Blom and LaFarge observed and reported the techniques of pottery manufacture at Sivacá;[28] Villa limits his data to mentioning the industry there. Blom and LaFarge report, on hearsay, the method of making large, egg-shaped, three-handled water jars at Tenango; Villa observed and reported this industry. The former authors report that the clay used is "a light greenish brown colour."[29] Villa says that two kinds of clay, "white earth" and "red earth," are combined to form the paste. Villa also noted the tempering with a ground sandy limestone (*hi*); and the painting with a paint made from a soft stone from the river (*huxu-tzaik*). The pots and griddles are made from one kind of clay tempered with a different sandstone called *bax*. The method of firing described for Sivacá by Blom and LaFarge from hearsay, involving the preparation of "an A-roof, forming a long tunnel,"[31] was observed and photographed by Villa in Tenango. Villa was told that vessels after firing are filled with *pozole* in water to reduce the porosity.

In Tenejapa metates are made for export, and in Oxchuc halters, lead-ropes, nets and bags. The methods of weaving, net making and basketry, reported by Blom and LaFarge for Bachajón[32] were not reported by Villa.

The type of habitation is the same throughout the whole region, although there are small variations from village to village. The houses are rectangular in form with four-sided roofs, thatched with grass, and with sides made of poles and clay. Only the houses of Chanal form an exception. The walls of these structures are in most cases of wood. The houses of Tenango present another exception in that they are the only ones where the roofs do not terminate in a ridge, but in a point, it is usual to cover this with an inverted pot. Houses are throughout divided into two rooms, one of which serves as living room and kitchen and the other as sleeping room. In some cases the kitchen is placed in the latter section. There is a single door in front; only in certain settlements to the north, as Chilón and Yajalon, where the influence of the white man has been greater, are houses to be seen with two doors and even some with small windows. The floor is always of packed earth.

The furnishings of the living room are limited in general to beds, improvised of boards placed on the ground or on logs, and covered with mats. The hammock is little used; it is generally reserved for children. The furnishings and domestic

[28] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2: 343-345.
[29] *Ibid.*, 2: 185.
[31] *Ibid.*, 2: 344.
[32] *Ibid.*, 2: 345-349.

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965) 1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P.465-A] Teklum

682 only a rise in the tensions that provoke con-
178 flict, but an undermining of the social-control
121 mechanisms for channeling them. The percep-
626 tion of these changes by the members of the society makes for shifts in the individual calculi, grossly measured in changes in the rate of behavior. In order to understand the interrelated problems of the sources of the increasing tensions and the reasons homicide is chosen as a means of resolving them, I have reconstructed the course of social change in the period from 1935 to 1965.

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178 *Increasing Social Tensions*

556 New economic enterprises have increased wealth differences in the community. The best measure of this is in the increase in cattle-holding, which is a socially approved way of spending money. Twenty-five years ago, there were only a half-dozen men with cattle, and they had only one or two head each. Today,
178 one of the herders in the community has 200
233 head of cattle, and 75 percent of the households
556 have one or more each.

Cattle-herding is a "new" industry in the sense that instead of just having a team of oxen to help with agricultural labor, men are
233 breeding cattle for profit. Because the cattle
685 roam freely, there is much loss, and this leads to accusations of theft. I have never heard such accusations directed against anyone outside the community; crime as well as positive moral relationships is confined within the
682 boundaries of this corporate community. Sus-
685 pected cattle thieves are killed by the cattle-
[474] owner or by a killer hired by the cooperative of cattle-owners. Such killings account for six of the 37 cases analyzed above (Table 1).

178 The illicit distilling of liquor has also added
274 to the town's prosperity. The liquor industry was introduced about 15 years ago, but the number of distillers has increased from 5 to 40
[438] in the last five years. From an enterprise
[439] formerly meeting only local market needs, contraband liquor is now sold as far away as the coastal area and across the border in
204 Guatemala. A cooperative of distillers has re-
474 duced the frictions that immediately followed the introduction of liquor-distilling. The cooperative pays the fines of any member caught distilling, and in addition threatens to use group action against informers, who were formerly tempted to earn the 200 pesos offered
[578] by federal agents. But the envy aroused by the sight of those who profit from this enterprise,

262 they visit the regional market. Only during
235 illness or fiesta are both chickens and eggs
[437] eaten.

231 In towns like Tenejapa and Cancuc, In-
439 dians buy small pigs from the Ladinos of the center, fatten them for 8 or 10 months, then sell them to the Ladinos, who slaughter them and sell the meat to the Indians. As may be supposed, in this sort of symbiosis the greatest profit accrues to the La-
[454] dinos. However, the Indians more often keep the money from selling pigs to meet emergencies or expenses of clothing, tools, and fiestas.

262 *Food Habits*

Corn, beans, chile, and squash are the core of Indian diet, supplemented by ma-
262 nioc, sweetpotato, potato, and chayote. One
263 or more chayote trees next to the house are common; every part of the chayote is used—fruit, tender leaves, and root—usually boiled with salt. Wild herbs are eaten raw or cooked. Among the raw ones are *culix-uamal*, *xhix-uamal*, and *alquanex*, the last a wild radish which Ladinos call "the Indian's radish." Herbs that are cooked include *tzul* and *turac*. Some herbs are eaten both raw or cooked: *verdolaga* or *chic-xecul*, *muem* (*hierba mora*), *maj-tas*, *tzuy*, and *San Sibro Uamal*. The last is a small grass with long
[276] thin leaves which the Indians grind and add to give a better taste to the *pilico* or wild tobacco. This is called *poxil-may*, which is like saying "medicinal pilico." Ladinos use its leaves in tea sweetened with panela.

262 There are three main meals during the
264 course of the day: breakfast (*ue-el sab*), which consists of atole or pozole, beans, chile, and tortillas; lunch (*ue-el olical*) of the same foods plus a vegetable such as squash or chayote; and supper (*ue-el x-malcal*), with atole, tortillas, beans, and chile. In Tenejapa rabbit meat is frequently
177 on the table. In Amatenango, Aguacate-
262 nango, and Pinola, greater contact with Ladinos has added coffee, wheat bread, var-

[P. 203-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Handcrafts

323 [462] Among the few handcrafts practiced in the Tzeltal areas, ceramics, produced mainly by women, is the most widespread. Tenango [184] and Amatenango del Valle are the only communities which have made a specialty of this craft. Tenango exports its products • [439] through the northern zone, Amatenango through the southern zone, including neighboring Guatemalan villages. Both places use 323 184 a similar ceramic technique but different shape and ornamentation. Referring to Amatenango del Valle, Blom and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:396) state:

> The pottery, which is their chief product, is almost all of one shape; a sphere, with three handles and a narrow bottle-neck with a flat lip. The decoration does not vary. Both shape and design, however, are of considerable charm. The polish is fine and smooth, giving an even golden-red colour all over, with the decoration in a deep, reddish brown. No such fine, finished work is done by other tribes in the area. The pots are baked by placing them on a rectangle of boards, two or more meters square, around a hot fire. The woman in charge turns them until they are done. These pots are carried by [438] the men as far as San Cristóbal, where they [439] are redistributed, and to Nenton in Guatemala.

283 286 Another widespread craft is spinning and weaving of fabrics for clothing. No village in the Tzeltal area trades these products [438] because production barely meets their family needs. The backstrap loom of pre-Hispanic origin is the chief tool.

[184] Pita articles—ropes, bags, and nets to gather the harvest or carry loads—are mainly produced in Oxchuc and Cancuc. 322 184 In Cancuc wooden combs are also manufactured.

342 *Houses and Furniture*

Houses, from 3 to 5 m. on a side, are predominantly square with thatched roofs. The walls are wattle-and-daub or plain tree trunks tied with vines. Floors are of [354] hardened earth. The houses only have one door and no windows, except in some vil-

[P. 209-A]

571 tions of community members. We now propose to display some of the ways in which further sets of performances, among them drinking, are associated with those already described.

Roles and the procurement of alcohol

273* 571 178 The procurement of alcohol for drinking involves social relationships which have undergone a change within the period of study. Traditionally, Aguacatenangueros have obtained 273* aguardiente--a distilled sugar cane alcohol--by purchase. For 439 many years aguardiente was manufactured by ladinos in San Cristobal and in Comitan principally for sale to the Indians. Before 1940, one ladino family established a liquor monopoly throughout the highlands and with the aid of government liquor inspectors was able to close down all competitors, which meant that production in Comitan and San Cristobal was completely stopped save for the factories of this family. In the first part of this period, then, Aguacatenangueros bought all their aguardiente from Comitan, and it was and still is known as 273* 548 comiteco by Indians and ladinos throughout the area. With the closing down of the several factories that produced aguardiente, Indians--principally Chamulas--began to manufacture the aguardiente in clandestine stills in mountain areas that were apparently difficult to patrol. The monopoly determined price of about 90 [435] pesos a garafón (18 liters) was cut nearly in half by these clandestine operators.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

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With the closing of the stills in Comitan came a second economic pressure which sharply changed the Aguacatenangueros' pattern of travel. The trade specialty which Aguacatenango had intensively developed, at least by 1920 and perhaps long before, was the weaving of palm hats. A principal point of trade for these hats was Comitan where the Aguacatenangueros took them.

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With the advent of the Pan-American highway, the region was flooded with nationally manufactured sombreros, which, in the period of ten years completely destroyed the Aguacatenango market.

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As the marketability of palm hats decreased, the Aguacatenangueros stopped going to Comitan; and it was during this same time that the supply of comiteco was cut off.

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The people from Aguacatenango then began to buy their aguardiente from licensed sellers in Pinola (Villa las Rosas) and Teopisca as well as from clandestine sources, the nearest being in Amatenango and the mountainous area that lay between

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there and Chanal. The use of clandestine aguardiente was still restricted by the occasional inspection by patrols of soldiers and liquor inspectors who would examine the contents of the houses in Aguacatenango, confiscating the aguardiente for which one did not have a legitimate receipt and taking the holders of such to jail in San Bartolomé de los Llanos. By the end of the 40's, distillation technology had disseminated widely enough among the Indian municipios that a few men in Aguacatenango began

aguardiente. And it was not unusual that they were unable to secure a single liter. In fact, it appears that the termination of drinking performances was in no small amount controlled by the exhausting of the community supply of aguardiente. What resale there was of aguardiente in the community was carried on by widows who might secure as much as five to six extra liters to resell to men who wished to continue drinking after their own supplies were exhausted. As a business venture, a widow would buy for three pesos the liter which she would sell for five, gaining thus ten pesos every month or six weeks.

At the fiesta of the patron saint, ladinos would bring in a supply of aguardiente to be sold. The large number of people coming from the neighboring towns made this a profitable venture for the three or four days of the fiesta. In order to increase the sale of the aguardiente (and other distilled beverages, as well as beer), ladino vendors set up cantina complexes in the plaza, the cantina consisting of a thatch or canvas shelter, a few tables and chairs, and principally a tocadisco--a loudspeaker system connected to a phonograph as well as a microphone, so that music and announcements could be made which could be heard from blocks around. Typically in this cantina pattern, a man from Aguacatenango would sit down with a few friends, drink a liter or two of aguardiente, and during this period, request that pieces be played on the tocadisco for which

275 216 191 he paid twenty centavos and in return for which payment his name was announced over the loud speaker as well as the name of a person to whom he might wish to "dedicate" the piece.

275 216 191 198 In 1959, there occurred a set of circumstances which permitted the Aguacatenangueros to gain control of the elements of the cantina complex, and in this year cantinas were established permanently in Aguacatenango. As the result of some difficulties in Pinola, the cantineros there were required by the town government to sell or otherwise get rid of their tocadiscos. [432] And three or four of them sold their tocadiscos to the men in Aguacatenango. These gas generator-driven units were set up in various yards in the community, the loudspeakers were mounted on tall poles as is the custom in the neighboring towns, and men came to these door yards when they were drinking to request [171] pieces be played with appropriate dedicatory remarks. The cantineros in Aguacatenango then simply filled out the rest of the cantina complex as they had seen it in the plaza.

442 275 432 439 They began to buy aguardiente by the garafón, most of it from clandestine distillers in the neighboring towns who deliver it to the buyers, and also beer and other distilled beverages, these being delivered by San Cristóbal distributors or bought and transported there by cantineros.

295 Thus the retailers of alcohol drunk by Aguacatenangueros are no longer ladinos and local widows, but local men. Some of

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

We had a better chance here than anywhere else to look over the village government. It being Sunday, all were present, the *Presidente Municipal,* the *Secretario,* and council of *Regidores,* elderly men, grave of mien, with small, black goatees. The ordinary villagers treated them with the greatest respect. Each official carried a silver-headed cane with a red ribbon tied to it and the name of his office inscribed on the head. They are appointed to their offices by the government with the ratification of the village. The Maestro works entirely through them, and their orders are absolutely obeyed. Indeed, owing to the independent nature of the Tenangeros, the Maestro is rather like the ambassador of a powerful foreign nation persuading the local government, through tact and very gentle pressure, to behave.

We finished our survey about noon, the Indians appearing unwilling to have us enter their houses. For the rest of that day we spent our time working up our notes into good shape, then teaching the gift chickens to do tricks until Lazaro claimed them for the pot, and in dodging the local officials who, having got themselves slightly tipsy in honour of the Sabbath, came importuning us to give them cigarettes, of which we ourselves were short.

Both that night and the night before, traveling traders built their little pine fires on the mud verandah of the Cabildo. In one case it was a Mexican and an Indian, in the other two Mexicans, to be distinguished from Indians only by the cut of their trousers and a donkey. They travelled with their big packs on a tump-line, long staff in hand, for all the world like a living re-incarnation of the traders shown in the pre-Columbian drawings of the codices (fig. 320). In old times they traded parrots, macaws, obsidian, textiles, jade, and later, gold and copper. Now it is a business of cheap watches, gaudy cloths, and ten-cent jewelry, bringing Connecticut, Hamburg, and Orizaba down to a fiesta in Bachajon village, following the old trade-route along which we were going, in the other direction, to San Cristóbal. Very few of the present Indian tribes

FIG. 320—Travelling Aztec Merchant. Drawing after the Codex Land.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango
Cancuc

443 themselves maintain an export trade, yet there is some. From the
439 distant, shy Lacandones a little tobacco of fine grade comes out, in exchange for salt, dogs, powder for flint-locks, and aguardiente. Tenango pottery goes down to Salto de Agua and up to Tenejapa where it meets the finer products of Amatenango, with which it cannot compete. Amatenango pottery is traded as far, at least, as San Andres in Guatemala. Chamula blankets are worn in Cancuc, and all through the Chiapas mountains. The Indians of the highest section keep warm in a heavy woolen shirt called "*chuj*," which is made in Guatemala. So they themselves, on a small scale, and the Ladino peddlers yet more, keep alive a vestige of the old trade that once ran from Central America to Utah.

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Fig. 321—Carradores with our boxes.

114 The last day's climb had seriously fatigued our horses. It became obvious that they alone could not bring us safely through, so on the sixth we arranged for five *cargadores*, under one of the village councillors, to carry five of our boxes through to Cancuc (fig. 321). It seemed as though that would make quite a load for each of these men, but we came to realize that the carrying power of a Highland Tzeltal truly puts a mule to shame.

At the end of the valley we swung up into the highroad that runs from San Cristóbal to the Lowlands at Salto de Agua. Once fairly well smoothed and levelled, this road is now impassable for ox-carts, and even horses must pick their way over the jagged limestone

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

have recently sought additional lands in the ejido of Brindis to meet these minimal requirements. This preference for expanding subsistence agriculture to hiring out as laborers is the best index to the persistence of traditional economic pursuits.

Farmers who do not have a cash crop in wheat may be forced to sell corn even when there is no surplus. Because they usually need the cash as soon as they harvest their crop, they must sell when the prices are low. Thus their consumption needs exacerbate the disadvantage they face in the market.

Clothing, whether traditional or modern in style, requires cash outlays. Women have kept the traditional costume while men are modifying their clothing. Even when they go to hot country, older women wear the heavy cotton skirt bound with a thick sash and topped by an embroidered blouse; some younger women have adopted the long cotton dirndl skirt and peasant blouse. A white cotton shawl is added for ceremonial events or for warmth in the evening. All of their clothing is either bought or made of materials woven on looms in Comitán or San Bartolomé. The navy blue skirt, which they say is black, and the red and yellow sash are sold for 40 to 50 pesos by Ladina vendors who come to town. The blouse is made from two meters of heavy white cotton sold in the local stores or in Teopisca and San Cristóbal. Most prefer the more expensive cotton woven on bed looms in San Bartolomé, but it is not always available. They embroider the wide bands of yellow and red around the neckline with embroidery floss sold in the local store. The fringed shawl from Comitán is also sold locally, but is often purchased during the annual fiestas in the town. These items are replaced every two or three years, depending on the wealth of the family. The newer clothing is worn on ceremonial occasions, and the older clothing is worn every day. Women wear sandals and hats for protection only when they are firing pottery. For jewelry they wear bead necklaces, sometimes with crosses attached. Their hair is braided with ribbons for fiestas, or simply left hanging when they work.

Men buy a woolen jacket called *kotonču*, which is brought illegally from the Department of Huehuetenango, Guatemala, where it is made,

7t Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9.Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

and sold in Comitán. It is the same as the costume worn by the Indians of that area. A similar garment is made in Comitán but is considered inferior to the contraband product. Shirts and wrapped trousers made of coarse cotton are stitched and sold in Teopisca. The trousers are bound with a red woven sash. These items make up the modified costume worn by most of the boys and men. Men over sixty wear a long, coarsely woven shirt with a slashed neck made in San Bartolomé. This is caught at the waist with a woven band and worn over short trousers. In the evening or during ceremonies the kotonču is always worn. The older men wear high-backed sandals attached to rubber-tire soles with thongs, while younger men wear the *huarache* of crossed leather bands secured to a rubber-tire sole found in many parts of Mexico. Increasingly men are taking on the western clothing worn by Ladinos—the belted cotton trousers, shirt, and underclothing sold in the local store and in the neighboring towns. In 1957, only a half-dozen men, all of them former students in the boarding school established in Cárdenas' term of office, wore this dress, but today over twenty middle-aged men and dozens of youths in their teens wear it. Those who wear modern clothing have substituted a zippered "air-force" jacket for the kotonču. All men wear factory-made straw hats, under which, on ceremonial occasions, they wear a red bandanna bound over the forehead and tied at the nape of the neck. A high-crowned palm hat with black designs, ordered by the alfereces when they enter office, used to be woven by a few specialists; now only one man can make them.

The changing styles in men's clothing reflect three stages of acculturation. The older style worn by elders is said to be the costume worn by the ancestors who live in the cave. Since all of the items are and have for some time been purchased from outside the town, the changing pattern of consumption—the change from modified peasant to ladino-style clothing—has not affected local production.

Girl's wear a machine-embroidered peasant blouse and a mid-calf gathered skirt made of cotton or rayon and purchased in the neighboring towns. They change to the woman's costume when they reach their teens. Boys wear the same clothing as their fathers, except for the old costume. Table 12 shows the cost for these items.

7t Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

342 177 178 434 [335] of witchcraft. Today probably 95 percent of the new roofs are made of tile. Often the old roofs cannot be replaced with tile because the rafters were not built to support them. One result of the change has been the dependence on a carpenter to construct the gables, since they have to be lined up more accurately than they do with thatch or palm roofs.

361 351 434 [554] House lots in the town center are preferred to those on the margins. As residents of house sites on the ejido lands at the margins of the town acquire wealth, one of the first things they try to do is acquire a house closer to the plaza. These lots are smaller, averaging about 500 square meters, while those farther out average 900 square meters. In a sample measurement of 100 house lots, the size ranged from 180 to 1,440 square meters, and the average size was 77 square meters. Considering the advantages of a large lot in growing chile fruits and corn, the preference for smaller central lots reveals the strong prestige factor influencing choice.

352 435 [513] House furnishings include both purchased and homemade items. Sleeping accommodations consist of wooden bedboards, either nailed on a frame or simply laid on blocks and covered with a straw mat. Woolen blankets from Comitán are sold locally at a price of 24 pesos or for 20 pesos in San Cristóbal and 18 pesos in Comitán. Most households own two or three wooden benches which line the walls of the porch and are made locally. Small chairs are purchased from Chamula carpenters at a cost of 2 to 4 pesos, as well as a small table costing about 4. A higher table [998] is provided for the saints' pictures and candle holders, incense burner, and [322] flower vases or tin cans. Hooks are fashioned from the crotch of trees and suspended on the house posts. Wooden boxes are bought from Ladino carpenters in San Cristóbal at a cost of 10 to 20 pesos depending on size and workmanship and are used to store clothing. In addition to the homemade water holders, water carriers, comales, strainers, and bowls, handmade glazed ware from San Cristóbal, factory-made porcelain dishes, metal cooking pots, knives, and spoons are purchased. Gourds provide serving [412] ware for ceremonial occasions. Stone grinding platforms and rollers are purchased in San Cristóbal for about 10 pesos. Two new items have become increasingly popular in the past five years: a metal grinding machine for corn, hand operated and costing from 40 to 60 pesos depending on the size and quality, and a hinged press for tortillas, costing 15 pesos if made

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7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

members entry to the ejido colony, an area where traffic was formerly excluded because of the monopoly by the large trucking companies. Both the fruit and root of chayote are sold in August by some families who have a supply over consumption needs. It is brought along with pottery to the market of San Cristóbal where it is sold to *regatones,* retail sellers who have stalls.

Decisions as to what crops to plant are not responsive to market fluctuation. With the major emphasis on subsistence crops, the farmers have little margin of land on which to experiment with profitable but risky ventures. They have little knowledge or experience. There are no full-time specialists in market operations, although the truck drivers may gradually assume a greater role in this respect.

Very few Indians of the region, and none of those in Tzo'ontahal sell corn to the National Warehouses (Almacenes Nacionales de Deposito), although the warehouses offer prices higher than the going market price for corn. (940 pesos per ton in comparison to 500 to 600 pesos at harvest or 800 pesos offered a few months later by wholesalers who come to town). The reason for their failure to take advantage of the higher market price is that they do not have sufficiently large crops to pay the transportation costs of 28.75 pesos or the "tip" to ensure that their crops will not be declared substandard because of impurities, rotten kernels, insects, or excessive water content. In addition to that, they must spend time at the warehouses and in traveling. The alternative to the sale of crops to national warehouses is sale to wholesalers.

Dealing with external agencies. Entering into competitive areas where they were formerly excluded, the Indians are encountering opposition from competitors and are the prey of departmental and state government agents. The reduplication of bureaucracies at the state and departmental level means that they will be subject to the double "bite" or *mordida* if they pursue their enterprises. Operating on minimal capital, they are not able to fulfill all the requirements, or buy all the necessary permits and licenses. Because of monopolization of certain traffic by the larger syndicates of truck owners, they proceed without permits and are often caught.